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AUTHOR Taber, Sara
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ABSTRACT

The recent drive of world educational development has sought to extend to non-Western peoples the benefits of schooling, as conceptualized in Western thought, without reference to the influence of cultural factors. The wholesale spread of Western schooling has caused new problems, especially for women. This paper: (1) presents the methodological problems, confounding factors, and dilemmas inherent in efforts such as assessing the effects of modern education, (2) presents the additional paradoxes and problems in determining how women, in particular, are affected by modern education, since women, as a group, are often omitted from education programs and/or adversely affected by them, (3) provides a framework and set of criteria for evaluating whether or not modern education is enhancing the development of human potential in a particular country, and (4) presents case studies of women in different cultural settings and, using the established framework, examines how modern education affects their lives. A final section draws conclusions about the potential costs of modern education to both industrialized and developing countries. A seven-page list of project research papers concludes the documents. (IS)

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Problems and Costs of Modern Education:

Its Effects on Women

Sara Taber

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PROBLEMS AND COSTS OF MODERN EDUCATION

Its Effects on Women

Introduction

The stated aim of international educational development agencies has been to help human beings all over the world realize their potentials. It is the thesis of this book that it is necessary for such agencies to clarify the existing indigenous pathways for individuals' development of potential in a particular countries before it is possible to assess what would constitute improvement in the lives of those countries' citizens. It is essential to have at one's fingertips knowledge of the culture, history, and society of a particular country before one can decide how imported education programs can contribute to (and be designed for) helping the inhabitants of a specific country realize their potentials. Educational development programs must be tailored, one by one, to the needs and cultural-historical conditions of the specific countries if they are to be

successful in helping people, the world over, develop their potentials.

The recent drive for world educational development has sought to extend to non-Western people the benefits of schooling, as conceptualized in Western thought, without reference to the cultural factors which dictate the ways in which people of a particular nation currently do and do not develop their potentials. This dissemination of Western schooling throughout the globe has not resulted in or equalled "realizing the potential" of humanity, or "improving the life chances" of Third World people. Rather, the wholesale spread of Western schooling has caused new problems.

The purpose of this paper is four-fold: (1) to present the methodological problems, confounding factors, and dilemmas inherent to such efforts at assessing the effects of modern educaton, (2) to present the additional paradoxes and problems in determining how women, in particular, are affected by modern education, since women, as a group, are often either ommitted from education programs and/or adversely affected by them, (3) to provide a framework and set of criteria, for evaluating whether or not modern education is enhancing the development of people's potential in a particular country, and (4) to present cases of women in different cultural settings and, using the established

framework, to examine how modern education affects their life chances. The purpose of this fourth section will be to provide a complex picture of the best and worst consequences of modern education for women and girls in various cultures. A final section will draw conclusions about the potential costs of modern education to both industrialized and developing countries.

Part 1: METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS, CONFOUNDING FACTORS, AND DILEMMAS INHERENT IN TRYING TO ASSESS THE EFFECTS OF WESTERN EDUCATION ON DEVELOPING AND INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES

There are many factors which tend to obfuscate, confuse and sometimes seem to render impossible the task of determining whether, and in what ways modern education has a less than beneficial effect on people. The following paragraphs elaborate some of these confusions.

The Problem of the Unit of Potential

Even the very idea of realizing potential is blurred, and may be interpreted differentially, according to whether

one views the unit of potential as being the lone individual or the family, or some other social unit. For instance, a case can be made that women in many cultures develop their potentials by contributing to their sons' and husbands' potentials. In these cases, the unit of potential is the family, and other family members' success belongs to the woman as well. Like doctors, who help people (but unlike women, aren't judged to be lacking in opportunity to realize their potentials), women may be thought to realize their potentials by helping others realize theirs. Secondly, while women may be viewed as wasting their potential because they are excluded from realizing them in the occupational career context, a case, again, may be made, that women realize their potentials through their roles as mothers and wives, as defined for them by their indigenous cultures. It is difficult to tease out what the appropriate unit of potential is or should be, and so it is difficult to determine or evaluate whether or how potential is being developed. There is an inherent bias in the views of Westerners, and educational development agencies, that work in the home does not develop a person's potential. The purpose of Western education programs is to extend women's options in the occupational sphere, viewing those activities as the ones that develop potential. This assumption may be questioned in light of the above perspective.

The Problem of Partial Mobilization

Our task is made difficult by the fact that modern education does not just come into a culture and replace all pre-existing traditions. Modern education programs always mix with the value system, past educational systems, and customs of the culture. Thus, modern education has no one effect. It is different in each place. Also, modern education is at best, only partially mobilized. Since all cultures are evolving, and modern education is introduced at single point in their evolution, it is difficult to distinguish what is the effect of modern education, what is the mix of education and the traditional patterns, and what is merely the by-product of a country's evolution.

Ways in which education may be only partially mobilized are enumerated here. (1) Within a society, different sectors of the population may be mobilized at different rates. (2) Different parts of a person's life may be more modern, or educationally-mobilized than others. (3) The Western model may be a national goal but the country may not be able to achieve it, thus being partially mobilized. (4) A person may gain advantages from mobilization in one part of his/her life but not in other parts (i.e., a woman may have to stay at home in India but concentration on her children brings her high status), and (5) Certain stages of a person's life may be more affeted by mobilization than others.

The Problem of the Simultaneous Existence of Multiple Social Forces

The effects of education are difficult to isolate from the morass of concurrent effects of industrialization, urbanization, migration, increased population size, the media, economics, and evolving social structures. Additionally, the side effects of modern education--the fact that boys and girls can now socialize together and choose their own mates, for example--rather than the direct teachings, may cause problems. The direct and indirect effects of education are difficult to tease apart. Such factors as whether educational mobilization occurred quickly or gradually, and whether education was introduced consciously by the government and in an organized fashion or haphazardly, are also confounding. In looking at changes in people's lives it is hard to state definitively that education was the cause.

The Problem of Who Education is to Benefit

Is education to be designed to increase people's life chances in order to benefit society, to benefit the individual, or to benfit the family or some other social

group? Such decisions determine judgments about whether or not education is enhancing potential.

The Problem of Class

Socio-economic level plays a large part in whether or not modern education is costly for an individual. The middle class model prevails in Western education programs, so that class benefits most and can use modern education most fruitfully. If you are poor you may remain poor, even if educated, and thus education does not help you to realize your potential. Also, the availability of education (like hospitals) does not mean people will take advantage of it--the poor get short shrift on education by virtue of cultural mores which prevent them from participation. (Poor people in urban areas often live by rural models.) On the other hand, in India, the lower class may have more freedom. Education may serve to widen the gap between rich and poor if determined efforts are not made to sssure that education is taken advantage of across classes.

The Problem of Etic and Etic Views on Educational Effects

The fact that emic and etic perspectives on the effects of modern education may differ or even contradict each other

is problematic. Which view do we trust?

The Problem of Losses that are not Losses but Gains, Versus those that are Losses

Some of the "losses" or problems associated with modern education are not "lost" since they did not exist before the introduction of modern education. (i.e., problems of modern education in America). They are simply part and parcel of modern education. On the other hand, some problems resulting from modern education are losses--something valuable is lost that existed before. These two types of reslts must be distinguished.

The Problem of Different Types of Modern Education

Societies and life chances may be shaped by the kinds of education that are emphasized. For instance, societies may emphasize religious education, technical subjects, humanities, or hygiene. Some education programs enhance the life chances of certain sectors of the population (i.e., women) and others do not. The type of modern education offered must be carefully designed to enhance the potentials of certain sectors of target populations.

The Problem that Problems May Be Advantageous

Many losses, or problems that result from modern education are the "flip side" of advantages resultingfrom that same education. For example, loss of protection from men may give women more freedom. With a modern education, a woman may lose the support of an extended household, but also lose a troublesome mother-in-law. Theincreased attention she can give to her children's emotional needs may result in more isolation for the woman but increase her status. Many problems that result from Western education may have a positive counterparts.

Key Paradox

Our position is that the traditional life course for people in most countries had integrity and solidity, and provided possibilities for achieving satisfactions in life. It is these life chances which are threatened with the introduction of Western education. On the other hand, we are saying that women had few options under the traditional agrarian systems (and complained about this lack of freedom, paucity of options, and economic dependence) and that this was a waste of potential. We praise Western education for

providing new options but criticize its promulgation of new problems.

We are, in a sense, saying women had separate but equal roles in traditional society, and in those situations the roles provided security and satisfaction, but that similar sex-role divisions that persist in spite of educational programs in modern society make women marginal, and fail to provide satisfactions or develop women's potentials. This is the key paradox. We must contradict ourselves continually.

I will not attempt to deal with all of these paradoxes and confounding problems in the course of this paper a its main purpose is to illuminate the effects of modern education on women.

Part II PERSPECTIVES, PARADOXES AND DILEMMAS IN DETERMINING THE EFFECTS OF MODERN EDUCATION ON WOMEN

The challenge of international educational development programs is to improve women's lives, and increase the number of women who realize their potentials without sacrificing the capabilities and satisfactions they experience under traditional conditions. In designing programs, and in evaluating the effects of modern education on women in

industrialized as well as developing countries it is our purpose to emphasize that the position of women in the Third World countries is not the same as that in the West, and that the women need to be understood in their own context. Women in other countries may realize their potentials in ways not anticipated in Western thought. Thus, improvement in the life chances of Third World women should not necessarly follow the model for Western women. The whole endeavor to enhance women's potential in developing countries, and increase their options, is fraught with ethical dilemmas.

Bowman & Anderson (1980) have written of the difficulties in deciding whether inequality in the educational levels of women as compared to men is due to failures in the modern educational programs or to traditional mores which prevent full participation. "Sexual inequalities of opportunity for education are especially difficult to specify because of the pervasiveness of differentiated sex roles in human societies and the relationship of associated customs with utilization of opportunity for education." (1980, p. 25) Bowman and Anderson also concluded that "The factors affecting educational opportunities are humerous and cross-cutting," and immensely complex. (1980, p. 25). For instance, urban girls may be better educated than rural boys, distance from school handicaps lower class children more than middle class children, and upwardly mobile families may seclude girls more than poorer ones.

One problem in determining how women are served by modern education is that both traditional agrarian cultures, and those influenced by modern education, have a certain wholeness. Both offer integrated ways for people to fulfill their needs, have satisfying lives, to have both options and relationships. Both kinds of system have their inherent problems for women. Female oppression arches over both systems. Both systems give women a separate place and role in society. This may be either viewed as oppression or as a viable, advantageous pathway for realizing potential, depending upon one's perspective. (As was seen in the unit on the problem of the unit of potential) In agrarian societies, women have separate but equal spheres; their work as mothers and wives is valued. In the West, and among international educators, we view the very same activities of home making and child-care as marks of oppression. Though women are engaged in the same activities we saw as valued in the agrarian system, we see women as oppressed because they have fewer spots, or opportunities to be involved, in the workplace. Is women's having their own place and role a problem or cost of modern education, when the same situation existed for women under the traditional system? There is a paradox and contradiction in trying to point up the paths for potential realization which traditional cultures provided for women, and then judging those very activities as not developing women's potential once modern education is

introduced.

Since statistics show that women are poorly represented in the workforce, even if educated, are women actually losing with modern education or simply not gaining? (Since they are doing the work they always did, nothing much changes.)

There is also the problem that urban, educated American women wish they could work, while rural, farm women wish they could stay home. The grass is always greener.

A key problem:

Women are Ascribed by their Genders, not by What they Do

In both traditional and modern societies women are in separate spheres from men. Even in industrialized societies women do not have equal places in the public work force. A woman cannot earn the status a male might have because a woman is ascribed merely by her gender, not by what she does. The question is, Is this oppression? Are women somehow less by virture of their separate spheres and roles? The answer depends on whether you use the measuring stick used for evaluating people in the male sphere or that of the female sphere, and it also very much depends on values. (Then again, as the feminists point out, men are somehow superior,

no matter what, by virtue of this sex-role differentiation being present: Women do not have a choice. Different, in a patriarchy, equals less.)

Whenever women's work is considered, evaluated in relation to men, or by the men's measuring stick of the workplace, women come out less competent, undervalued. If the occupational prestige ladder is used to measure someone's worth, women have low grades or are not even worth consiering. Whether or not women work longer hours, achieve more, do more varied tasks more competently than men, men are seen as superior. Because women are not on the ladder, they are undervalued.

On the other hand, there are measuring sticks within the domestic, female world, for measuring a person's worth, and that of women in general. Women may view themselves as achieving a great deal as mothers and wives and see themselves as creative people. They may, consequently have strong self-esteem. By objective accounts of what they do, and by their own standards, and in the sphere of the family, they, objectively, are achieving a great deal and should be highly valued. Since women are denied membership in the public sphere, they find another sector for developing and judging self-worth, and by these criteria they are valued and seen as developing themselves. Also, by objective observations of the amount, variety, complexity of tasks, and

the competency women bring to them, women may be valued.

Whether women are valued or seen as developing their potentials depends on the values of the person viewing them. Agrarian societies more obviously, and in actuality, value women's work and role more than do modern societies. Modern people in the United States do not value the traditional female tasks of child rearing, cooking, farming, or giving emotional support to other family members.

Consequences for Girls of Modern Education

The availability of education programs in developing and industrialized countries means that women and girls either do get schooled or they do not. The crucial question though, is what happens to women's life chances in societies impregnated with modern education, whether the women are active participants or not.

Let us diverge a moment, to take sight of the many reasons girls in developing countries do not get as well schooled as boys. This may serve as an initial demonstration of how cultures hold their own against modern influences.

Why Women Do Not Get Schooled when Education Is Available

Bowman and Anderson (1980) have highlighted the many reasons that availability of education programs does not ensure participation for women, due to cultural factors. Basically, parents do not view education as enhancing their daughters' chances.

> Analysis of the spread of education among females must be closely tied to evidence concerning how education affects their subsequent roles and behavior. Parental expectations of these effects along with parental estimates of foregone production and foregone learing of schooled girls are crucial, not only in initial access of a daughter to schooling, but also in the performance of girls in school. (Bowman & Anderson, 1980, p. 30)

Their research has shown that modern education is often perceived as a potential threat to traditional female family and work roles. For instance, families in Kenya, India, and among the British working class, have been reluctant to permit their daughters to make use of schooling--school is simply "not for girls." Parents fear daughters will lose the potential of enjoying traditional sex and family roles, and lose the traditionally available source of self esteem and satisfaction throughout life. Parents' perceptions of how education will affect daughters' future jobs, acquisition of a suitable or better husband, quality of their daughters' domestic life, daughter's personality development, and the well being of the daughter's children determine whether modern education is considered worth risking.

Modern education is frequently seen as potentially threatening to a girl's acquiring a good mate. Education can have a positive or negative effect on obtaining a good husband. The Congolese were afraid their daughters wouldn't marry the men their parents chose, if they were educated. Some parents feared education would make their daughters barren. The Wazir thought ambition would make women forget their duties as wives and mothers. (Bowman and Anderson, 1980) Bowman and Anderson comment, "The moral danger for girls arising from Western education may be less a fear of Western knowledge than of attitudes accompanying the new schooling." (1980, p. 20)

Parents are also concerned with foregone learning and earning that may result from modern education. Girls traditionally contribute to the household economy by working in or outside the household in many cultures, and traditional sex and work roles are learned, apprenticeship-style, by working alongside other women. Modern education threatens these life chances.

Bowman and Anderson (1980) detail the numerous and diverse factors which affect girls' participation in schooling: sex of the teacher, the local fertility rate, religion, the relative isolation of the village, an urban versus rural setting, type of parental employment, cost of travel to school, school fees, distance from school,

condescending teacher attitudes towards girls, and teachers' propensity for minimizing girls' expected benefits from school. "But perhaps most impressive is the diversity of patterns of sex differentiation."

Part III FRAMEWORK FOR EVALUATING THE EFFECTS OF MODERN EDUCATION ON DIVERSE CULTURES

The obvious method for assessing the effects of modern education on the citizens (or a sub-group) of a particular country is to compare their "life chances" under the traditional agrarian system with their chances after the introduction of modern education. Life chances, the opportunities to live meaningful and satisfying lives according to the cultural concepts of well-being, virtue, and personal development, consist of the possibilities that exist within the culture for the realization of potential. For the purpose of this discussion, "life chances" will be synonymous with the possibilities or pathways (a term I prefer) that exist for the realization of potential. Life chances, according to Dahrendorf, who coined this term, consist of a combination of options (events that are likely to occur in one's life) and social links, or relationships. (I find ligature, the term he uses to mean relationships, too unfamiliar.) Life chances that help people to realize their potentials provide an optimal balance of options and

relationships. These life chances vary tremendously from country to country, since each culture has its own concepts of what constitutes a meaningful life.

Since it is our purpose to evaluate the impact of modern education by examining the life chances of people in different cultures following its introduction, it is helpful to list the components or areas of a person's life which make up his/her life chances. In this way, the effect of schooling on each component of a person's life may be examined, providing a complex picture of his/her life chances in the traditional and (partially) educationally-mobilized situations. Under this model, the more or less adequate filling-in of each component may serve to indicate the possibilities for potential-realization that exist in the case under examination.

Components of a Person's Life Chances

(in traditional cultures and under modern conditions)

RELATIONSHIPS† the key components as viewed by Dahrendorf

OPTIONS †

WORK ROLES

FAMILY ROLES

ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS

SOURCES OF SELF-ESTEEM

CRITERIA FOR SELF-WORTH
SOCIAL IDENTITIES
LIFE COURSE PATTERN
LIFE GOALS

When education takes away old pathways for realizing potentials, without replacing them with viable alternatives, people's life chances are reduced, if not dashed.

The relative presence or absence of the following social problems also helps to indicate whether, and how, people's life chances are enhanced under traditional and modern conditions. When these did not exist before modern education was introduced, and are prevalent after its spread, modern education may be judged counter-productive. (The reverse is true as well.)

Social Problems

STARVATION
POVERTY
SOCIAL ISOLATION
LACK OR WORK ROLE
LACK OF SOCIAL ROLE
UNHAPPINESS OR DISCONTENT
MENTAL ILLNESS

POOR HEALTH AND NUTRITION

DEATH

SOCIOPATHOLOGY OR CRIME

REDUCED COPING

STRESS

LACK OF OLD AGE SECURITY

PART IV CASE STUDIES; THE EFFECTS OF MODERN EDUCATION ON WOMEN

I will now turn to case studies of women in non-Western and Western industrialized societies. I have drawn these case examples in order to illuminate the best and worst consequences of modern education for women of various cultures. In some cases, modern education can be harnessed by the culture to meet traditional indigenous values and life chances. In these cases it may enhance women's lives greatly. In other cases, modern education merely decimates the old paths for ealization of potential (life course, self-esteem, etc.)

As described above, a person's life chances are the sum of a list of components (relationships, options, work roles, etc.) that are available to a person in a particular culture. Each component may have a very different meaning, or expression, in any two cultures. For example, regarding the component, life course pattern, in the U.S. we may be said to have a long adolescence which ends as late as the middle-life crisis at age 40, while in traditional Hindu culture, a girl is married at age 12-14, and moves from child to wife with no adolescence at all.

In the following case examples of how modern education affects both traditional agrarian peoples and Western industrialized peoples, I won't attempt to elaborate on how education affects every component of the life chances of the people under discussion. Such a discussion would be tedious. Rather, these examples should serve to illustrate how specific components of a person's life are affected. I will trust that the reader may extend the method to other cases, or analysis of futher components of the same case.

A proviso I would like to make and stress, before embarking on the case material, is that every country has its examples of modern education's enhancing the life chances of some sector of the population or several components of its people's life chances (but, perhaps, not other components). By choosing the case countries I do, to exemplify either the mal or beneficial effects of modern education, I do not mean to imply blanket conclusions about the efficacy of schooling in those particular nations. For each example of how education causes frustration for girls in India, there is a counter-example of an Indira Gandhi. For each 10-year-old Mexican girl who hates having to give up the excitement of school to work at home, there is another girl who quits school voluntarily to be with her mother. For the Japanese mother of school-aged children who adores keeping house and attending child-rearing and ikebana classes, there is an

extremely isolated mother of pre-schoolers. For the equality of women in the Chinese extra-domestic workplace, there are scores of female infants being killed by their parents, who, living under a system where they can only have one child, want it to be a boy. The subtlety, complexity, and intricacy of the issue is what I want to demonstrate. Each case is followed by a brief discussion of the effects of modern education on the woman's life chances.

The Cases

Nigeria: A Woman Trader

Anna Otumba, age 43, lives in a large eight-room house in Lagos along with 29 other closely and more-distantly related members of her family. Seventeen of the inhabitants of the house are income-earners. Anna and several of the other women are traders. Some of the women sell fish but Anna, and four other women in the house, market textiles. These they buy wholesale from European firms and then sell in bush markets, via their employees, as well as in town. Anna has done so well with her market-selling that she and some of her colleagues have recently started a bakery and a piggery which produce loaves of bread and meat for Pan Am Airlines and for the Grand Imperial Hotel. She has been so successful

and has such style and confidence that she truly merits the commonly used title "merchant princess." (p. 44 Little)

Anna spent her first 18 years in her home village where she lived in a large family, helped with farming and went to school, off and on, until she was fourteen. She learned to read well at school, and she also learned to speak French.

Anna was a newlywed when she followed her husband to town. She went with him not only because it was her duty, but because she looked forward to earning her own money and gaining some of the freedom and status that the young migrant men who would return periodically to the village had gained. She wanted to be independent and out from under the traditional patriarchal polygamous living situation of her village, which seemed to her, to harness women to men.

When they moved into town, Anna's husband began giving her a weekly stipend with which she was expected to support herself, by trading, in the way that has been customary for Yoruba women since pre-colonial times. Anna was so adept and ambitious that she quickly became an expert market-seller. Her husband now, 25 years later, is so impressed by her trading abilities that he admires and holds as much affection for her as he does for his mother.

> I give her a pack of cigarettes, she twist small, small, and come back in the evening with 5 cents

> profit. I give her a carton, and she bring me back 2 cartons. I love that woman, She like my ma...Some time a man has no work, women must provide. (Little, 1973, p. 47-48)

Anna's relationship with her husband has changed drastically since she moved to Lagos. He is now very dependent upon her, while the opposite was true at first, and her, by now well-established, authority and independence causes disharmony in the marriage, as both of them expect to make all the decisions. Since her husband is the household head, he receives all the earnings from the household members, extracts part for household maintenance and then hands the rest to Anna. She subdivides that amount into cash for food and into cash to be used for buying trade goods, and divides the latter between herself and the other women traders. One of the women not engaged in market-selling, does the cooking for the house. Anna sometimes uses what her husband regards as too large a proportion of her income on having her hair done or buying clothes, and squabbles ensue. Anna found that even when her children were small trading was easy to do as she could fit it in between her domestic duties, and she loves the work in comparison to the farming she did in her home village.

Anna still loves going to the market even though she is often so busy with her new commercial enterprises that she does not get there as much as would like. Ever since she arrived in town the market has been her place. She and the

other women watched their nursing children grow up there. They braided each other's hair as they waited for customers. The market was a place for gossip and friendship, and eventually the women banded together and formed an organization, an egbe to help members start new businesses, enlarge their trade, to teach business methods, and to regulate trading practices. There is terrific loyalty between Anna and her egbe, and competition is frowned upon.

> Such is the sense of solidarity - the women gossip together, eat, drink and spend the entire day in each other's company - that it is said to be unthinkable for a trader to disobey her market egbe. (Little, 1978, p. 50)

Any competition is reported to the "Queen of the Markets." Some of the other women in her voluntary organization joined Anna to start and run the bakery and piggery. Anna also helped start classes for the women in reading, French, and English, which help in dealing with wholesalers.

Analysis:

Anna has successfully wedded several features of the culture of her home village to opportunities in town and has maximized her advantages in her new urban environment. She coupled her modern education, and her modern wish for financial independence, with the trading practices of traditional Yoruba women, to become a highly successful

trader and business woman. Her trading interests were able to fit in easily, as well, with her traditional inclination to be a mother.

Coming from a large polygamous household made up of several women and their children, Anna and her husband set up a large cooperative group house in the city, based on the same model. Using their new economic goals, they have been able to make the household living situation profitable, efficient and beneficial to both men and women. In the city, Anna and other trading women were able to re-create the community of women they experienced in their homes of origin, perhaps even improving on those competitive involuntary domestic relationships, by coming together in a voluntary fashion to enhance the income of all in their market egbe.

The relationship between Anna and her husband was in many ways dissimilar to the marital relationships of women of their village, in that Anna had financial and emotional independence. In some ways, her husband was more dependent upon her. At the same time, Anna's responsibilities as head of a large household probably involved many of the same skills as the first wife of a large polygamous house would use.

In summary, Anna's life chances and pathways for realizing her potential were improved through modern

education. Her options were increased in terms of economic, work and family roles. She was able to gain from both traditional and modern sources of self-esteem. She could be a good mother and an excellent trader. Her family roles and relationships altered somewhat, but took new forms which still, perhaps more fully, met her needs.

Japan: A Professional Housewife

Yoshiko Takashi lives in Kobe where her husband is an employee in a large multi-national firm. She has a college education. Following secondary school, she took the two-year training course in office management and secretarial skills offered at the nearby college and undertook English training at the same time. After graduation she accepted a job at the firm where she met her husband, and where he continues to work.

After four years of working on a team of tightly-organized office women, and attending the company-sponsored parties and excursions designed to help match up employees, Yoshiko agreed to marry Masuo. When she became pregnant shortly after the wedding she quit work to become a full-time wife and mother. She knew she could have become an interpreter for the firm, with her superb English skills, but she didn't give the possibility much consideration. She had always looked forward to having children and all the wifely duties. Her mother, in the village two hours away, where Yoshiko grew up, had always taken pride in her farming (which she regarded as part of cooking), housekeeping, and child-care duties, and Yoshiko aspired to achieve the same perfection in her domestic role.

Yoshiko is now 40. Her oldest child, a son, is 15. She has two other children - a daughter, 13, and a son age 10. Yoshiko has a very busy schedule. Three afternoons a week she accompanies her two youngest children to enrichment classes which provide extra tutoring in regular school subjects and also train the children in ballet and Karate, for her daughter and son respectively. She wanted them to cultivate a physical skill to increase their powers of concentration and self-discipline. Yoshiko's oldest son is presently taking a cram course daily after school, in preparation for the very important pre-college exams that will take place in 6 months, in the spring. Yoshiko drills him every night for 2 hours after dinner, and looks over the younger children's homework at the same time. With continued hard work and discipline as her part, and that of her son it seems likely that he will obtain a place at Tokyo University which will put him into a position to have a career in computers with one of the firms in Tokyo, as is his ambition.

Yoshiko subscribes to a magazine called "Children of School Age"--which has numerous articles ranging from how to prepare nourishing meals to how to drill children in mathematics. The women in Yoshiko's two-day a week flower-arranging class admire her for her son's high marks in school and his recent excellence award for his attainments as a violinist. In addition to her ikebana class, Yoshiko takes Haiku lessons and goes to an English conversation group 3

days a week, so that she can develop her sense of contentment and composure, and keep up her English skills as an aid in drilling her children on the weekends.

Yoshiko expects her husband to be home at about 10 or 11 every night, (he is expected to drink with his workmates after work every day), and she has his dinner waiting, as well as a massage and hot bath. Her husband expects her to be efficient and to serve a perfect meal as well as listen to his anger at colleagues at work. Yoshiko knows he aproves of the job she is doing with the children, and she meets his evening needs very adequately. Yoshiko and her husband seldom exchange words except at these late-night meetings or on occasional family excursions to view the temple gardens in Kyoto. Yoshiko pities her husband's having to spend all day at the office, under such pressure. She takes pride in her work and knows she is close to reaching the goal of having produced successful children.

This lack of contact with her husband is just as well to Yoshiko. She gets her emotional needs met elsewhere--by her mother, whom she visits once a month, and by the other women in her groups. She is especially close to the women in her ikebana class. They go on excursions twice a month. On these trips they act like school girls, making jokes about the childishness of men and exchanging tips on how to nourish their children's intellectual growth..

Analysis:

Yoshiko, with her college education, has been able to shift traditional agrarian values, roles, relationships and life course patterns, almost whole, into the urban setting. Her work role options have improved but she chooses to be a housewife. That is a role highly valued in her society as women are responsible for producing industrious, successful workers. She never wanted to do anything else. If anything, her education has permitted her to be a more perfect mother. For all the family members, the unit for potential development is the family, rather than the individual, and Yoshiko knows she is achieving her best. Yoshiko has important relationships with women friends, and her mother, which sustain her. She has multiple sources of self-esteem supplied by a culture that values attentive intellectual and emotional nurturance of children and efficient attention to a husband's needs. Yoshiko's life course has a progressive, ever-more-satisfying trajectory. As her children move out into the world, she will glory in her and their achievements. There is a good chance that at least one of her children will live nearby into her old age, and she can sustain connections.

From an etic perspective Yoshiko might appear to be a household slave. From the emic view, she is highly-valued

and absolutely satisfied with her life chances.

Switzerland: A Mother and Kindergarten Teacher

Kristin is 32. She lives in a medium-sized town in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. She is married and has a 2-year-old daughter. She has just become pregnant with her second child, which delights her and her lawyer husband.

Kristin speaks English, German, French, and Italian. At age 14 when she had to make a choice between going to the gymnasium, which might have led to a place in the French literature department of the University, (French was the subject she was most keen on and showed exceptional ability in), and doing an apprenticeship in kindergarten teaching, she chose the latter. Kristin worked as a teacher for 8 years. The job paid very well. She worked about 5 hours a day and made $28,000 a year. She enjoyed the children and was well-respected and highly-esteemed in the community.

Kristin stopped working when she met Paul, as she had been growing tired of working and looked forward to staying home. Her parents and the rest of the community also expected her to quit work once she was married as they frowned on dual-career couples, considering them greedy and viewing the women as neglecting important household duties.

All of Kristin's friends quit work when they married, so it was natural for her to do so too. Her community views it as natural that she would feel fulfilled as a mother and wife, and she feels valued in her role by both society and her husband.

Once in a long while Kristin wishes there were a little more leeway in her life, but she would never tell anyone those thoughts. For the most part she enjoys the strong sense of security and clear boundaries. Her role is clear, and she feels fulfilled. She spends a lot of time on her appearance--buying traditional but elegant clothes for herself and her little girl, and going to the beauty parlor once a week. She is viewed by her neighbors as a very well-groomed, organized woman. She cooks well, is a perfect housekeeper and an efficient, attentive mother. She has a flower garden which she maintains in an impeccable state in the spring. She enjoys reading literature, painting and gourmet cooking in her spare time. Though no one tells her so directly, she knows she passes the high Swiss standards for a perfect wife and mother, and she watches her own and her daughter's behavior carefully so as not to draw criticism. Tongues wag at the smallest distinctive habit or unironed blouse in her village.

Analysis:

Kristin enjoyed several economic and job options during her growing up years. Her education nurtured qualities and inclinations which are valued in a Swiss woman--competence, efficiency, caring for people. Her confidence grew through her accomplishments as a teacher, a profession regarded as highly suitable for a woman. Her education permitted her to experience financial independence and develop a sense of self-worth, experiences her mother never had. Kristin doesn't feel the least bit inferior to her friend who is on the academic treadmill, aiming for a job in a European history department. Her friend seems worried all the time. Kristin feels validated as a wife and mother. Her education has enhanced the traditional Swiss housewife role. Kristin's relationships with her family and husband are respectful and close, and she has time to develop them. Kristin and her husband enjoy economic well-being and are able to travel twice a year.

Kamapala, Uganda: Two Women, an "Employee"-Prostitute and A "Drinker"

Mary

Mary, a barely literate young woman of 23 is living temporarily, with a man of forty.

Mary belongs to a group of migrants that Elizabeth Mandeville (in Little, 1973) has called the "employees." The men in Mary's neighborhood outnumber the women 5 to 1. The employees take pride in having high standards of conduct and regard themselves as superior to the lazy native people of a neighboring compound who brew beer and spend much of their time drunk. Employees also eschew certain types of the most available jobs, regarding them as unsuitable for women, or generally unrespectable. These jobs include beer-selling, trading in the market, selling from the home, dancing professionally, and working in bars. (Little, 1973, p. 42) Trading by married women is not permitted as it might bring the women into contact with disreputable people. The employees often choose poverty over engaging in jobs they view as degrading, choosing "to be 'employees' rather than independent." Even prostitutes "pass muster" because in other respects their behavior is proper. They have 'beautiful manners,' do not drink, go to the mosque, and take care of their children" (Little, 1973, p. 42.) Most "employee" women aspire to be independent of men and marriage. Many husbands forbid their wives to work, fearing they won't be able to control them or because they view work as incompatible with raising children. Many women work as domestic servants. Others work in bars or as prostitutes.

They forego the potentially very lucrative kinds of employment mentioned above in the name of the middle-class respectability they aspire to.

Mary is a highly-respected prostitute. She lives, off and on, with her husband, but recently she left him to live with her present lover.

When Mary was sixteen, she caught the bug so many girls in her village were catching. Travelling with friends to town from her village, she saw women wearing fancy clothes, riding in big American cars, and escorted by fine-looking men. She loved the lifestyle and decided she wanted independence, freedom, and her own money like the women she saw. Her parents persuaded her, shortly thereafter, to take up prostitution, to increase the family income, and she migrated to and from Kampala for the purpose. When she was married, her husband moved with her to the city, to be her protector. He took a job, and she continued with her trade at the house, during the day. She and her husband would sleep together after their respective days' work. When Mary became pregnant, she would give her children to her family, an economic asset for them.

Mary was able to make good money once she lived in town full-time, as she was pretty, and she cultivated her sexuality by buying more and more expensive clothing and

having her hair done regularly. Because of her high tastes, and the unreliability of her work, though, Mary maintains a middling level of existence. Her husband, an odd-job man, is often dependent upon her financially. Mary has been able to get richer and richer men, with experience. After a year of living with her husband, when they first moved to town, she began to disappear for a week at a time, going off with men who could show her an exciting time--buying her clothes and taking her to shows. She dreamed of finding a wealthy man who would keep her as his mistress and pamper her with luxury. As her ambitions rose, her husband looked less attractive to her, and she seldom returned to him except when she was "between men." She established herself in an apartment of her own and put mottoes on her wall such as "Money is my lord" and "Everyday I wait for you darling." (Little, 1973, p. 92) She taunted her bereaved husband by singing songs like

> Come; Whom do you fear?
> I no longer have a husband
> I married very young
> Thinking there were no other men.
> If I had only known!
> Let me love you. You're just my type. (Little, 1973, p.100)

and

> Dear woman, you are always out and about;
> I come at mid-day and you are not there;
> I come in the evenings and you are not there
> Surely you must have been with other men.
> [The woman laughs.] 'I am not a fool to wander about for nothing.
>
> 'Madam, you are always in the town;

> You ask me for a cloth of mapomboli and
> for a headscarf and a necklace too;
> Do you take me to be a supplier of goods for
> the benefit of other men?
> [The woman laughs.] I am not a fool to wander
> about for nothing. (Little, 1973, p. 115)

The women in Mary's village envy her independence and status.

Mary will probably float from man to man, in search of glamour until she loses her youth. At that time she might return to her village where her family will take her back into its fold, but that is unlikely. The city charms are too tempting for her. She hopes to maintain her independence and buy a house and rent rooms. Lately, however, she has been hearing rumors of prostitutes having cervical cancer, dueto frequent intercourse. She sometimes thinks she has those symptoms in addition to her usual anemia and herpes. (plausible?)

Clare

Clare who has almost no education lives in a lower class migrant community known locally as the "Drinkers." (Mandeville in Little, p. 39) The drinkers all live close together and their houses face a common area. Very few drinkers are regularly employed. They are nostalgic for the old ways and cynical about their chances for progress and power. Their self-image centers around being cooperative, friendly people and their orientation toward the world puts a

premium on maintaining friendly relationships and absolute loyalty to neighbors.

When many of the drinkers first came to Kampala they aspired to a prosperous life but soon gave up these ideas, falling back to the cooperative, egalitarian emphasis and casual attitude toward work, of their home villages. The drinkers prefer to have an undemanding work life, and to barely get by, over pursuing a career and endangering their relationships. The drinkers get drunk as their main form of entertainment.

Clare, a fifty-year-old mother of five children with different fathers, has just gotten by most of her life, by relying on a series of men, and looking forward to the day her son would support her. Clare has never paid rent, and she and her children have frequently been unable to afford the most minimally nutritious diet. She suffers from gout, dysentery, and arthritis. Recently Clare has begun beer-brewing and spirit-selling. She works until she has some cash for food and getting her hair done, and then quits until her money runs out again. Her beer business has the potential of being quite profitable, as beer as a commodity is in great demand. Clare likes her independence from men, and from employment, though, and she prefers not working. She gets drunk at least four days a week, with her neighbors.

Analysis: Mary's options have broadened in her new urban life, the urbanization that occurs concurrently with modern education, but not in the way international educational development planners might hope. She has taken on modern middle class values and material expectations but these have not resulted in steady, dependable employment or freedom from poverty. A minimal primary education has engrained in her clear notions of respectability, and she would never sell beer or trade in the markets. Prostitution, however, is seen as respectable and middle class. Prostitution is a natural way to achieve the freedom and economic success promoted by the West to women raised in a sexually-free indigenous culture. Mary has grabbed up the modern banner of freedom and the wish for wealth, and transformed them into a kind of boundary-less, relationship-less, self-centered opportunism. (too strong?) The middle class standard, imposed on Ugandan cities from without, creates economic losses and completely destroys or alters the satisfying life chances (goals, patterns, roles) that were avilable to women in the agrarian culture. It is questionable whether the new options and relationships enhance the development of the women's potential. Mary may even die of cancer, and she suffers currently from various ailments.

Clare's life chances are perhaps a little less optimal than those of Mary. The migratory trend away from her

village led her to the city, almost by chance, but she maintains indigenous values. Those very egalitarian ideals, of her agrarian culture, hamstring her in terms of making a go of it, economically, in the city. She has lost family and work roles, family relationships, and sources of self-esteem that were avilable to her in the village. Her health is declining due to illnesses brought on by poor sanitation. She is near starvation several days each month, and she drowns her discontent in beer.

India: A Fiance with an almost B.A.

Meena is a member of an upwardly mobile family of a merchant caste. Her parents grew up in a small traditional agricultural village. Her father, however, had shone in the village school, and managed to earn his B.A. in business in Delhi and spent a year in England in a Master's course. When he returned to India he fetched his young wife from the village and they settled in as a nuclear family in Delhi.

Meena's father takes great pride in his new middle class ability to seclude his wife and daughters, in contrast to the pattern in the practical meaner farm village he came from. Meena was raised in purdah, isolated from contact with the men of her family, and was seldom allowed to leave the house after she menstruated, except to attend school.

Meena's father became wealthy rapidly, with his excellent business head, and saw that if he was to find wealthy, educated husbands for his daughters, he would have to educate them. Finally, after much discussion with his reluctant wife, he agreed to let his daughters stop observing purdah, and they attended secondary school and then university.

Meena grew up in a double world--under the influence of her educated father, and under that of her mother and her mother's relatives in their home village. She learned the traditional bratas young girls are taught by Hindu women--including the worship of the responsible, powerful Siva, the kind of husband all young girls should wish for. She also listened to the Vedic myths her grandmother told about the romantic, capricious, sometimes cruel but irresistable Krishna. She learned, by observation, how to serve men and do a woman's domestic chores. At the same time, Meena attended school, and learned English, and was permitted to attend Western movies with her cousins, chaperoned by a spinster aunt. She loved Robert Redford of the movies and Ravi Tara, a famous Indian cricket player, and longed for the kind of companionship and romance she watched them carry on with women. Seeing what she had heard in stories about Krishna and other gods occurring in real life, on the screen, made her think it might be possible to have a

truly romantic, adoring, tantalizing husband, and she secretly hoped more than anything to marry a movie star.

Directed by her father, keen on being able to list her credentials as a bride in the highest possible Delhi circles, Meena studied the piano, took English lessons, used creams to dye her skin lighter, and had lessons in the social graces. During her second year at the university her father began advertising for a husband, putting in the newspaper all the virtues that had almost become standard criteria for a bride: light skin, a failed B.A. (women should be a bit less well-educated than their husbands), musical skills, beauty, good breeding, etc.

Meena was quite nervous during this period as the male relatives of several suitors came to examine her. She had also heard rumors of a new rash of dowry deaths--the burning of new brides by their new nouveau-riche in-laws when the young women arrived with a disappointing amount of material wealth to contribute to the household. Fortunately Meena knew her father would be generous.

By the end of her second year, a suitable husband had been found. She met him once, with her cousins, in a coffee shop, and could hardly breathe, and only raised her eyes once to look at him. She was disappointed in his looks but the thought of the romance of the wedding night six months away

overcame all such doubts. Her parents took her out of university when her engagement was announced. She didn't mind, even though she had enjoyed her classes and had once even thought she would like to study politics or go into law, because of the excitement of the wedding. She knew few women ever used the things they learned in university after they were married, so it was just as well.

Despite the advantageous match, Meena can look forward to an isolated life with her new economist-civil servant husband. She will have financial security, but, due to the necessity of moving as part of his work, she will live far from her family. Due to her husband's pride in being able to protect and seclude her, in the middle class way, she will have few friends, grow tense and hypochondriacal. She will be keenly disappointed in her husband's lack of romance but their relationship may grow into a new kind of companionship due to their nuclear family status, and their need to depend on each other at new postings. She will enjoy being a good Indian mother, and pour her emotional energy into her sons.

Analysis:

In Meena's case, the Indian culture has absorbed modern education, and added it to the traditional criteria for a good bride. Education is undertaken by girls, not for the

purpose of increasing work options or developing their intellects, but as one more pre-requisite to the still strong traditional life goal, marriage. In this way, education is both "wasted" and puts additional pressure on girls. Modern education, along with the media, has also given Meena the expectation of a new companionate kind of relationship with her husband, a romantic, unrealistic expectation that may well cause disappointment for her throughout her life.

Meena has gained, mainly, new frustrations, through modern education. Her occupational options have not really increased. Rather, the Indian middle class which prides itself on being able to protect its women makes her life more restricted than that of her village grandmother. She will miss the close relationships that she knows her mother enjoyed with other women, as a girl in a joint family. Her modern education does not enhance her life chances; her options are reduced and many previously important relationships unavailable to her.

USA: A Lawyer and Mother

Karen Smith is a lawyer and mother of two. She attended the best colleges and now has just become a partner in an excellent law firm in San Francisco. Every morning she jogs 3 miles before getting her seven-year old and three-year old

out of bed. The three-year-old goes to day care and the seven-year-old to a fine private school. Karen's husband Bob is a businessman who travels two weeks out of every four. They are in the process of obtaining a legal separation. Bob is having an affair with a twenty-four-year-old woman at the Boston office of his company.

Until she found out about the girlfriend, Karen thought she had the perfect life. She had been able to choose from ten undergraduate colleges. She had gotten a Masters at the Fletcher School of Diplomacy before deciding law was her true calling. She had had her first child during the last month of her last year of Harvard Law School. Bob had been home more then, so they managed it all skillfully, she thought. She had gone to work two months after the baby was born, afraid she would be left behind by her peers if she didn't move immediately into a good firm. The thought of being a full or even half-time mother repelled her. She equated motherhood with infinite sacrifice, boredom, and stagnation, the three things she feared most. They had had the first baby by accident and then, because she was thirty-two and it was now or never, she had a second. She had wanted children some day.

Karen has grown to love her children and she is glad she had them. She loves the funny things her three-year old comes up with and she can't believe how thoughtful about her

her older daughter is. She sometimes wishes now that she had more time with them. But now she has made this big commitment to the firm. She and Bob hardly ever saw each other during the year before they split up, and when they did, they fought. They were both so tense, they took it out on each other. Now the children are upset all the time and the seven-year-old has begun wetting the bed. Karen has tried to be the perfect, attentive mother (she tries to stimulate the children, to build their intellects when she is with them), a sexy wife, a gracious hostess to her husband's business colleagues and a good lawyer.

Recently, though, it all seems to be falling apart. She has had bouts of anorexia, something she suffered from as a teenager. Even her seven-year-old tells her to eat more. She and Bob are both drinking more than they should. She drives too fast. Karen feels guilty about the children all the time. She takes yoga classes to calm down and has a therapist, but even those things seem like extra stress. Sometimes at the office someone will hand her a brief and she goes into the restroom and bursts into tears. She misses her mother in New York, and her friends in Boston. This job in San Francisco, though, was her best offer. She had to take it. She wasn't going to give up her career and talk inanely about how many words her baby could utter, the way her friend Sue had done.

Analysis:

Karen is in the grips of the extreme career-orientation that is sometimes the result of modern education in the U.S. One can make the argument that education has not increased her life chances. Her work options were, clearly expanded by her education, but she lost in most other areas of her life. She is about to lose the economic and emotional security of her marriage. She has lost happiness and the option of the clear family-work role of homemaker, and gained the triple burden of being mother, wife, career woman, and now, single parent. She is obsessed with the goal of perfection and competence, and so, is constantly unhappy with her performance in one of her roles. Her culture doen't give her credit for being a mother (mothers are boring, unintelligent, inferior, and not worth listening to), or for being a career woman. She is still paid less than her male colleagues and given the toughest cases--ones at which one can't succeed.

Karen has lost supportive relationships and close involvement with her children. There are no boundaries in her life--marriages are no longer sacrosanct, the perfection expected of her in all her roles is limitless, and there's no one to help her decide what to do. Her options feel like a terrible burden. She has given up concern for emotional needs, contentment and security, for obsession with the

intellectual development of both herself and her children. She feels handicapped on the job by her propensity for getting involved in the lives of her clients (She really cares about them, and the men criticize her for this). She has realized lately that her more natural bent all along has been toward social work, but she couldn't stand the idea of having a traditional "female" profession. Karen has traded her mental health, relationships, physical health, the potentially satisfying social identity of mother, and a predictable life course pattern, for seemingly infinite career options.

CONCLUSIONS; COSTS OF MODERN EDUCATION

Modern, Western education, characterized by bureaucratization, adherence to a strict occupational prestige hierarchy, and standardization of criteria for individual worth, has the potential for creating new kinds of marginality and destroying traditional treasured life chances. It (1) imposes new standards of evaluations of self and others, (2) creates new situations of competition, uncertainty and conflict, and (3) gives a new shape to the life course of men and women. The occupational prestige hierarchy, which goes hand in hand with the introduction of modern mass schooling, has a large price. Extreme

competitiveness (exemplified by the "examination hell" in Japan and women's high investment in their children's and husband's careers), increased experiences of deprivation by those low in the hierarchy (as seen in failed aspirations, and a sense of inferiority), and the sacrifice of other pathways for life satisfaction (as seen in the narrowed prescriptions for the life course centered around the career, and loss of social links through putting career ahead of family), may all result from mass schooling, if a traditional culture is unable to accommodate and assimilate the new modes in a positive, progressive manner. Thus, modern education may dissolve traditional ways of achieving satisfaction and replace them with new, complex difficulties, rather than increasing chances for a people's realizing their potential.

Participation in modern education itself, or living in societies permeated with its by-products, does not necessarily equal a better life. Seeing more of the modern world can lead to a fuller or an unhappier life. Gaining knowledge, through school, may trouble a person or enrich his/her life. Education can broaden the gap between rich and poor, benefitting only a ruling oligarchy, unless programs are designed to ensure that children from all sub-cultures and classes benefit.

Modern education program designers, noting the mal

effects of economic dependency for women, have sought to extend Western-style schooling to women to increase their occupational options. These programs have come out of a perspective that views women's potential as being wasted because women are confined to the home in many cultures. Program designers, infected with the perhaps largely North American obsession with democracy and freedom and maximizing options for people, have thrust these ideas onto developing peoples, and designed programs with those ideals as centerpieces. In reality, both in the U.S. and in other countries, people's options are circumscribed. The idea of options may be a romantic fallacy, with economic fallacies--that there are creative jobs for everyone, and movement up the social ladder is possible--to match. In most countries, the most that is possible is to feel, at times, responsible for one's choices, rather than having real freedom of choice.

What has happened in some countries, and is a real danger in general with the proliferation of modern education programs, is that people gain some options, new pathways and rights, but lose traditional options and relationships, or that people lose traditional options that are now undermined or de-valued by the occupational career hierarchy, while gaining, in reality, no real occupational movement. Some women around the world have gained valuable options due directly to education. (Most women's lives have been altered

more drastically by the by-products of education and urbanization.) Some women's personalities and interests are suited to participation in the traditionally male work sphere, and those women, no doubt, feel blessed by modern education. Many women, on the other hand, could be happy with the multiple creative outlets inherent to the homemaking role, were such activities valued in schools and in their societies.

Values are key. One of the primary, and most potentially disastrous, consequences of modern education of women is that modern education, and the occupational prestige hierarchy it propagates, takes away from many cultures the value they traditionally put upon home-making and mothering. The occupational prestige ladder often becomes the sole measuring-stick for self-worth and women's work in the home is not even on the ladder. It is not viewed as important enough, to merit the title "work," and thus becomes invisible. Women's work becomes unacknowledged, undermined, and undervalued. THE CAREER becomes paramount. Women lose the separate but equal and valued role they have enjoyed in traditional cultures, without any real possibility for participation in a new role on the ladder.

Different kinds of education have different effects on women. For instance, educational programs which teach and value occupations and skills such as computer-technology,

engineering, law and business discourage women. Other programs, which emphasize teaching, languages, psychology, and arts enhance women's self-esteem, building on traditional inclinations of women, and giving them even further legitimacy. It is difficult for women to value themselves and their work as mothers if society does not back them up. In essence, those countries which retain their traditional values in the face of the looming occupational ladder, offer greater life chances to women. They can design programs which build on women's traditional skills and life patterns, not succumbing to the single track, CAREER.

Another main cost to women of modern education is the problem of unfulfilled expectations and increased feelings of deprivation. Education teaches women to want material possessions, to seek romance, to want companionable, egalitarian relationships with their husbands. Once they have seen Paris, it is hard to go back to the farm. (It teaches relatively few women to want real careers.) Education makes women more aware of social strata differences and instills in them the notion that they can move up. American-style educators tell them not to settle for what they have. (Contentment, and making the best of one's lot is a cornerstone of many agrarian societies). Since mobility is usually, actually, very difficult, and since most women will be housewives whether educated or not, education breeds discontent, disappointment, and a sense of unfulfilled hopes.

A further, and crucial cost of modern education to people of both sexes is the loss of half the life chances equation: relationships. Educationally mobilized societies have more of everything except relationships, and relationships are what give life its meaning. Participation in the prestige hierarchy often causes people to lose relationships. An irony is, the more intact the culture and the less susceptible to modern values in terms of ensuring the maintenance of important bolstering relationships, the less hurt by modern education. Partially-mobilized Third World agrarian societies often retain social supports and relationships rejected in the West as obstacles to development. They provide beneficial social services, and meaningful alternative social identities which their new, modern educational-occupational structures cannot. Few agrarian societies lacked adequate opportunities for developing social bonds, a real problem for people in modern U.S. cities.

In both pre-modern and industrialized societies women often turn exclusion from competition and the occupational ladder into a source of strength for themselves and those around them. Educationally mobilized societies depend upon women to maintain the relationships that are necessary to their life chances and to realizing their potential. Educators need to acknowledge the crucial importance of

women's traditional relational skills to developing potentials.

It has been most striking, in writing this paper, that the most extreme examples of the costs of modern education can be found in the U.S.A. The career-orientation encouraged by modern education in the U.S. has caused difficulties in many spheres of people's lives. The stresses of a highly-competitive work world and the burdens of the superwoman who expects herself to be sexy wife, cookie-baking super mom, and career woman all at once cause health problems, mental illness, the breakdwon of the traditional family, and loss of happiness. The worst scenarios of how modern education hurts women's life chances are found in the very culture which is being used as a model for educational programs to be sent to developing countries. In disseminating the one-track career-obsession are we propagating also anorexia, depression, extreme materialism, heart problems and even death (as in the Indian dowry deaths)? European countries, such as Switzerland, which have more moderate ideals regarding individualism, the family, and occupational expectations, may provide much more appropriate models for education programs and representatives against which developing countries may measure the life chances they offer their people.

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